

Paris, Tuesday, February 1, 1994

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Thurman Thomas, who fumbled twice. "I'll probably get over it," he said afterward.

Super Bowl Humiliation Bills Fumble Their Moment of Truth

By MICHAEL DOWSEY
Washington Post Service

ATLANTA — You never know when your moment of truth will come in sports. Usually, it's not some play that you've practiced a thousand times. Rather, it's a split second of impatience or quick-thinking in a crisis that reveals your resources, your resilience, your character as an athlete.

Sometimes, however, the moment isn't a moment at all but a crucial passage of time when a whole team knows that if it is to prevail, it must summon itself, rising above its collective failings and fears.

In the first minute of the second half of Super Bowl XXVIII, the Buffalo Bills faced a moment of football self-revelation of the first sort. They failed terribly, in the wake of that disaster, they faced a moment of truth of the second kind. For the span of two possessions, they knew that a Super Bowl hung in the balance. With everything at stake, the Bills fell apart. Again. This time, they lost by 30-13 to the Dallas Cowboys.

Now, the Bills' fate is probably sealed.

Full coverage of the Super Bowl, Page 15.

13-6, at halftime, thanks to a hurry-up offense that had controlled the ball with short passes. Just as important, the Cowboys were sputtering, making mistakes and begging to be beaten. Troy Aikman, who had shredded the Bills for four touchdown passes in a 52-17 drubbing in this game last year, wasn't sharp. He looked like a quarterback only seven days removed from a concussion. If the Cowboys needed to jump offside on third-and-short, or throw an interception with a man open deep or rough the punter,

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A Robust Czech Economy Defies Europe's Recessions

By Jane Perlez
New York Times Service

PRAGUE — Squeezed between well-off Germany and struggling former East bloc countries, the heavily industrialized Czech Republic boasts low unemployment and a balanced budget even as it takes on the treacherous task of transforming itself from communism to capitalism.

While 10 percent of the German work force is jobless and many East European countries face the possibility of 20 percent unemployment this year, the Czech Republic is proud of its 3.5 percent unemployment rate.

Here in the capital, an old city studded with shiny new retail stores, computer companies, banks and an explosion of restaurants and bars, there is a shortage of labor.

Why the Czech Republic is thriving while many of its neighbors struggle and how long the boom will last are matters that are debated by economists here and in the West.

Some things are clear. The Czech Republic was under Communist rule for a much shorter period of time than its larger neighbors to the east. The republic also has the advantage of a well-educated and cohesive population of only 10 million. It has taken advantage of its geographic position next door to Germany to expand trade and investment and has made planned steps toward a market economy that have been effective so far.

The Czech Republic's 1993 budget ended in a

surplus, and trade to recession-ridden Western Europe jumped 16 percent last year. Despite the impressive indicators, analysts said the zero growth rate in the gross domestic product was disturbing.

Prime Minister Václav Klaus, who is masterminding the economic metamorphosis is following a step-by-step plan instead of applying the shock therapy used in Poland in early 1990. But economists point out that Mr. Klaus's approach has yet to match Poland's growth rate — 4.5 percent last year, the highest in Europe.

Some economists argue that the Czech Republic appears to be flourishing because the country has not made some tough decisions,

See CZECHS, Page 2

Pepsi or Coke? The Mayan Elders Know

By Tod Robbins
Washington Post Service

TENEXAPA, Mexico — On the third Thursday of every month, the Tzotzil Mayan elders of this town in southern Mexico arise with the sun, dress in their finest ceremonial garb and gather solemnly in the central plaza to take up a centuries-old group conversation with God.

It is a time-honored day of fasting, said one of the elders, Juan Gómez Hirón, in which only three things are allowed to pass the lips of the participants: an armful of liquor called *poch* and a fizzy brown liquid called *Pepsi*.

"The ceremony calls for *Pepsi* and *poch*. Nothing else is allowed," Mr. Gómez explained as he fingered a crucifix hanging from a chain around his neck, accompanied by a dozen metallic bands stamped with images of Roman Catholic saints.

Another bare-legged elder, dressed like Mr. Gómez in leather sandals, a knee-length cotton shirt and a woolen shawl, offered up a sample

of the *poch*, which he poured from a cattle-horn flask and served in a funnel whose bottom he plugged with his finger.

By the end of the Thursday ritual, several cases of *Pepsi* will have come and gone. So much *poch* is consumed that motorists are waved away from the town center for fear they will run over elders who have passed out in the road.

No one seems able to explain how *Pepsi* became a part of the ritual, but Mr. Gómez and other elders are adamant that only one brand of *poch* will do as the official chaser for *poch*.

Drinking Coca-Cola, for example, is a certain route to ostracism.

"It makes them very angry," said Diego Méndez, 25, a Tzotzil who said he does not participate in the ceremony.

Evidence abounds in the town of Chiapas that the so-called *cola wars* between Coke and *Pepsi* have taken on political and social dimensions beyond the wildest dreams of the Madi-

son Avenue advertising executives who began marketing the drinks here decades ago.

In some cases, the *cola* one drinks may not merely be a statement of thirst-quenching preference but a declaration of political affiliation or even religious belief.

About 25 kilometers (15 miles) west of here in Chamula, Tzotzil Mayan worshippers at a local Catholic church routinely offer refreshments to their favored saints by clearing a spot on the stone floor, lighting several dozen candles, then waving a soft-drink bottle over the flames while chanting in the Tzotzil dialect.

Occasionally a soft-drink offering will be accompanied by something more substantial, such as a live chicken whose neck is twisted as the worshiper chants at the altar.

It is impossible to tell which soft drink is preferred by worshippers, but a quick tally of bottle caps strewn about the floor suggested

See PEPSI, Page 3

Kohl Warns Croatia on Bosnia Attacks

WASHINGTON (AP) — Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany threatened Monday to act against Croatia if Croatian troops attacked Bosnia. He said he had no confirmation of any such attack, and did not say what kind of action he might take. He spoke after a meeting with President Bill Clinton. The Serbian and Croatian governments have officially remained aloof from the conflict. Mr. Kohl would not say that Croatian

General News

The earthquake in Los Angeles is shaping up as a record disaster.
The U.S. decision to grant a visa to the leader of Sinn Fein dismays Britain.

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Kiosk

Lack of European Leadership

Executives of multinational corporations said European governments had failed to lead their countries out of recession, raising the specter of social unrest.

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BMW Extends Its Range With Rover

Last British-Owned Mass Carmaker Is Sold for \$1.2 Billion

By Richard W. Stevenson
New York Times Service

LONDON — Seeking an entrée into the small-car business and access to lower-cost automobile production plants, BMW of Germany said Monday that it would acquire Rover of Britain for about \$1.2 billion.

The deal advances BMW's strategy of reducing its reliance on its home market in Germany, where labor and production costs are among the highest in the world. In Rover, Bayerische Motoren Werke is acquiring a company that has transformed itself into an efficient producer of small cars over the last decade while also building its Land Rover division into a high-quality maker of four-wheel drive utility vehicles.

Indeed, much of Rover's progress on costs and quality has been due to the出售 of Honda Motor Co., which owns a 20 percent stake in Rover's car-making operation, and the Japanese automaker protested strongly when Monday's deal was announced.

For Germany and Britain, the acquisition suggests the economic forces that are at work reshaping European industries. Companies in Germany, which for decades enjoyed a reputation for unparalleled industrial craftsmanship and engineering, now find it difficult to compete because of labor rates that, in the car business, average more than \$24 an hour.

As a result many German companies are choosing to build or acquire any new production capacity they need outside Germany. In Britain, where social welfare levies on employers are lower and unions not as strong as in Germany, the average labor cost in the auto industry is about \$12 an hour.

The German company said it had considered building its own small-

car manufacturing operations, but that by acquiring Rover, it could gain the capacity and the market share more cheaply and quickly. The deal would roughly double BMW's share of the European market to 6.5 percent.

BMW's purchase of Rover, which has been owned by British Aerospace PLC for five years, will end nearly a century-old tradition of independent mass car production in Britain.

But Bernd Pischetsrieder, BMW's chairman, said Rover would continue to be run by its British managers and that the Rover brand name would be maintained. There are no plans to produce cars under the BMW name in Britain, he said.

The BMW executive said he was also interested in reviving some of Rover's famous, dormant nameplates like Austin Healey.

British Aerospace has been eager to find a buyer for Rover as part of its plan to concentrate on its core aerospace and defense businesses.

Honda had been negotiating with British Aerospace to raise its stake in the car operation to just under 50 percent, but had been unwilling to meet British Aerospace's demand for a full buyout. With Rover in BMW's hands, the German company will be able to use and study Honda's technology and production techniques.

In Tokyo, Honda's president, Nobuhiko Kawamoto, said British Aerospace's decision "negates Honda and Rover's long-term efforts to establish a firm future for Rover as a British company with its own brand identity."

Honda said it had no immediate plans to sell its stake in Rover. Mr. Pischetsrieder said he hoped that Honda would continue its association with Rover, under which Rover also has a 20 percent stake in Honda's

See ROVER, Page 2

Tokyo Stocks Leap Despite Warning on Low Growth

Hosokawa Plan Sets Off Buyer Frenzy, Nikkei At Three-Month High

By Paul Blustein
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — The imminent introduction of Japan's biggest economic stimulus package sent the Tokyo stock market into a buying frenzy Monday, but economists cautioned that while the package may be necessary to avert disaster it will not keep the economy from posting another year of subpar growth.

The Nikkei 225-share index soared 7.8 percent, to 20,229.12, closing above the 20,000 level for the first time in three months. Trading volume was an unusually heavy 800 million shares.

Propelling the surge was jubilation over the news that Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa secured a last-minute compromise Saturday that ended a long battle over political reform and saved his government from collapse. The development clears the way for a series of economy-bolstering measures later this week.

"We now have the exact reverse of last week's market, when sentiment was so depressed," said Kathy Matsui, a strategist at Barclays de Zoete Wedd Securities (Japan) Ltd., referring to the events following the parliamentary defeat of Mr. Hosokawa's reform bills on Jan. 21.

At that time, investors feared the turmoil would prevent the government from delivering a stimulus dose that the economy badly needed to avoid sinking further into recession.

The Japanese press reported that the government is planning to put the final touches Thursday on a combination of public works spending and income tax cuts totaling around \$135 billion. That will enable Mr. Hosokawa to assert in his Feb. 11 meeting with President Bill Clinton that Tokyo is taking steps to get its economy moving again. The issue of considerable concern to Washington is that demand for American products will increase.

But even though the \$135 billion total is bigger than any of the other packages introduced so far during the current recession, many economists here believe that the economy will still expand at a rate of only around 1 percent to 2 percent in 1994. That would be far below the 5-percent rates typical of late 1990s in Japan.

Merrill Lynch's Tokyo economist, Peter Morgan, for example, predicted that the economy will grow at 1.6 percent in 1994, assuming the stimulus package is put onto place. "Without it, we'd get minus 0.2 percent growth," he said.

Even the governmental Economic Planning Agency believes that the economy will grow at

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Radovan Karadžić, the Bosnian Serb leader, left, joining Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the Russian far-rightist politician, in greeting a Russian volunteer in the Bosnian Serb Army at a rally Monday in Bijeljina. The Bosnian Serbs ordered a full military call-up.

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Kiosk

Kohl Warns Croatia on Bosnia Attacks

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Arafat's Fatah Is Losing Ground as Peace Accord Nears

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — As Yasser Arafat pressed in Switzerland for a breakthrough in peace talks with Israel, his faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization lost further ground in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Public support for Mr. Arafat has slipped steadily since the PLO and Israel signed their outline agreement in September on introducing Palestinian self-rule, beginning with the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

In ways unimaginable only a few months ago, even old allies criticize him. They accuse him of having a questionable commitment to democratic change, of keeping too much power to himself, of mishandling the negotiations with Israel on fleshing out key details of the September accord and thereby contributing to a long delay in the planned start of an Israeli troop withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho.

Some loyalists of El Fatah, the faction led by Mr. Arafat, have warned that he is unlikely to break this slide until the agreement is carried out and his forces assume control. "Reaching a settlement now with the Israelis is more important for him than ever," a supporter said.

Crimea Chief Seeks Independence Poll

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
SIMFEROPOL, Ukraine — The victor in Crimea's presidential election, the Russian nationalist Yuri Meshkov, vowed Monday to seek a referendum on independence from Ukraine.

A referendum, if it were held, could sharpen ethnic tensions on the strategic peninsula and provoke bitter conflict with Ukrainian authorities.

Mr. Meshkov told the Interfax news agency that he would like to hold the referendum March 27, the day Ukraine is to elect a new parliament.

"If he wants independence," said Alexander Piskun, Ukraine's deputy minister for immigration and ethnic issues, "it could mean a very serious conflict with Ukraine."

The Ukrainian president, Leonid M. Kravchuk, did not comment on the outcome of the election, but an aide, Nikolai Mikhaleenko, said that Mr. Meshkov would face "tough measures" if he tried to hold a referendum.

Mr. Meshkov said Crimea could serve as a spark between the two former Soviet republics, and vowed that it would never see ethnic conflict. He won the runoff election Sunday with 73 percent of the vote, according to preliminary results released Monday. Nikolai Bagrov got 23 percent.

Mr. Meshkov said his immediate priority was providing relief for Crimeans from the mass poverty of post-Soviet Ukraine, not rejoining Russia.

"Crimea should be a bridge between Ukraine and Russia," he said. "Our links with Russia will be the supports and those with Ukraine the roadway. Economic well-being is what's important. Ev-

erything else is of secondary importance."

Russia administered Crimea, where about 70 percent of the residents are ethnic Russians until 1954, when Soviet leaders ceded control to Ukraine. But Moscow's initial reaction to the election results was one of caution.

The Itar-Tass press agency quoted a Foreign Ministry official as saying that Russia would build relations with Ukraine on the basis of existing agreements. But the official also indicated that Moscow would not ignore the Crimeans' choice simply to please Kiev.

Mr. Meshkov's victory, the official said, "signifies that his position on most urgent issues was understandable to the residents of the Crimea."

The Russian government has repeatedly recognized the territorial integrity of Ukraine but Russia's former parliament, dissolved by President Boris N. Yeltsin in September, effectively demanded the return of the Crimean town and naval base of Sevastopol.

Ukrainian politicians were also cautious. Dmitry Pavlychenko, head of the parliamentary foreign affairs commission, called Mr. Meshkov "unpredictable."

"The situation could become more complicated with potential involvement from Moscow," he said.

Mr. Meshkov has said he favored a gradual reunion with Russia, beginning with Crimean independence, closer economic ties, a common currency, and dual citizenship.

"In spirit, the Crimean people have been and remain part of the Russian people," Interfax quoted him as saying. (AP, Reuters)



LICEO THEATER BURNS — Firefighters salvaging some paintings from the 19th-century Liceo Opera House in Barcelona on Monday. The theater was destroyed in a fire that began when a spark from a workman's blow torch ignited a stage curtain. One person was injured.

Bosnian Serbs Order Call-Up

By John Kifner
New York Times Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The Bosnian Serbs ordered a general mobilization Monday to push for "a successful conclusion of the war" by a military victory.

The entire able-bodied population will be mobilized, either into military or labor units, and special women's units will be formed," the general command of the self-styled Serbian Republic of Bosnia announced.

The mobilization appeared to preface a new offensive against the Bosnian government.

Momcilo Krasic, speaker of the Bosnian Serbian parliament, declared, "The Muslims will never be able to defeat the Serbs."

Bosnian Serbian military leaders issued the order in the face of continued strong resistance by Bosnian government forces, who earlier this month pushed back a large Serbian offensive near the key road of Olovno and are now pushing into Croatian territory in the Lasa River valley.

Among the measures is a crackdown on black-market dealing, apparently aimed at an illicit arms trade in which the Muslim-led Bosnian forces have had been buying arms from the Serbs, especially in western areas where the Bosnian forces are fighting Croats.

The Serbian forces inherited large stocks of heavy equipment, including tanks and artillery, from the old national army when the former Yugoslav state broke up. The more lightly Bosnian forces have a big advantage in manpower, and over the last half year have reorganized their army into a more effective infantry force, which is now seen as gaining the advantage in the civil war.

■ 3 Suspects in Aid Worker's Death Killed

Three men suspected of involvement in the murder of a British aid worker were killed Monday after being stopped by Bosnian forces while trying to flee. Agence France-Presse reported from Sarajevo. Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A police statement said the trio, thought to be involved in the killing Thursday of a British driver at Zenica in central Bosnia, took two hostages while attempting to escape via Sarajevo airport.

They were later ambushed by Bosnian Army forces on Mount Igman south of the city. The three men and one of the hostages were killed in the gun battle.

CZECHS: Robust Economy Defies Europe Recession

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particularly regarding the dismantling of subsidies to unprofitable industries.

Others attribute the Czech success to a confluence of positive factors. One is the historic beauty and low cost of travel in the republic, which drew an influx of tourists that injected \$1.3 billion to the economy in 1993.

The pick-up in tourism allowed the private service sector to absorb many of the employees shed by big industries.

Czech exports are extremely competitive because labor costs undercut those in Hungary and Poland.

And unlike Poland, the Czech Republic started out in 1989 with virtually no debt. With its history

as the industrial center of the Hapsburg Empire and one of the strongest pre-World War II European economies, the Czechs had a solid base to build on.

Although the workers are paid less than they were, the government has yet to hear any complaints from the trade unions. In 1991, real wages declined by 24 percent, but there were no strikes.

But the rosy employment situation cannot be maintained forever, economists say. There will be more layoffs as industries are restructured through privatization and others are declared bankrupt.

So far, critics of Mr. Klaus's government say political peace has been bought by allowing bloated and unproductive industries to

continue. The banks that hold bad loans to those industries cannot let the situation go on much longer, critics assert.

Mr. Klaus's analysts counter that a worst-case scenario of 6 percent unemployment is possible by the end of the year. But other economists are more pessimistic, saying 10 percent is possible by the beginning of 1995.

Other danger points are looming. It is not clear how long the tourist boom will continue. The Czech Republic is 80 percent dependent on oil and gas from Russia, and a planned pipeline from Germany is taking longer than many expected. And how exports can be kept up given that wages will inevitably have to rise is not clear.

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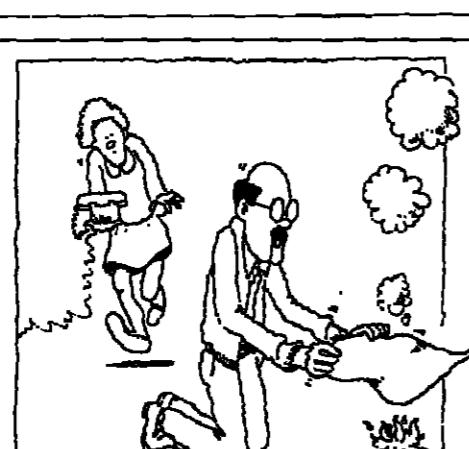
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OVERHEARD



Martha rushed in to break Herbert of his old ways.

WORLD BRIEFS

A New Battlefield Opens in Kabul

KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) — Forces loyal to Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar rained rockets on southwestern Kabul on Monday, opening a new front in their battle to overthrow the president.

Until Monday, the front line in the monthlong siege of the capital had been confined to the south and east of the city. The onslaught Monday presented a new problem for President Burhanuddin Rabbani because it could bring his traditional enemy, the heavily armed Shites, into the fray. Shites, who belong to the Iranian-backed Islamic Coalition Council of Afghanistan, control most of southwest Kabul. Until now they have remained neutral in the factional fighting that has destroyed many parts of the capital. But it may be difficult for them to remain neutral if the fighting encroaches on their territory. Mr. Hekmatyar already has joined forces with a northern Afghan warlord, General Abdul Rashid Dostum, whose fighters have pounded residential areas and government buildings in the capital.

Sect Leader Reportedly Slain in Iran

TEHRAN (AP) — The Iranian Armenian leader of a Protestant sect who had been missing for two weeks has been found slain, his Assembly of God church said here Monday.

A church official said that the police had informed the church on Sunday that the body of Mike Hoseinpour, 49, had been found in an alley in Islamabad, a suburb of Karaj, 45 kilometers (28 miles) west of here. He was killed on Jan. 20, the official quoted the police as saying. The police have not publicly reported the killing, but relatives of the victim, who have seen pictures of the body, said it had knife wounds. Church officials said he had disappeared while en route to Tehran's Mehrabad airport to receive a guest from the central city of Isfahan.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Minister Opposes Pompidou Closing

PARIS (Reuters) — Culture Minister Jacques Touzon said he hoped to avoid a complete closure of Paris's Georges Pompidou modern art center — one of France's most popular attractions — for urgently needed renovation work.

Mr. Touzon said on television Sunday that technical experts had recommended closing the steel and glass structure for up to 18 months to speed up essential repairs. But he said he favored spreading out the work over a longer period and closing only one section at a time.

Portuguese public sector unions agreed Monday to call a second 24-hour strike, scheduled for Feb. 11, to protest the government's low offer on wages in 1994. (Reuters)

Pilots at Lebanon's two airfields decided against a 24-hour strike due to be held Feb. 1 after Prime Minister Rafik Hariri persuaded them to resume pay negotiations with management. (Reuters)

President Fidel Castro, opening a new German-run hotel at the beach resort of Varadero, said Cuba's tourism industry was improving impressively, with signs of increasing visitor numbers and better service. The state enterprise Cubanacan said the number of foreign visitors to Cuba reached nearly 700,000 in 1993, up from 488,000 in 1992, and generated gross earnings of more than \$660 million. (Reuters)

JAPAN: A Leap Despite Warning

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only about 2 percent in the fiscal year starting April 1, following essentially flat growth in the current fiscal year, Kyodo News Service reported. Other agencies believe that the official forecast should be set higher, at around 2.5 percent to 3 percent.

Some private economists argue that the stimulus package will barely help at all.

"It's not going to be the elixir that puts Japan back on a recovery path," said Donald Kimball, senior economist at Mitsubishi Bank.

Japanese manufacturers, he said, are still burdened with so much excess capacity and personnel that they will be forced to shed hundreds of thousands more workers later this year.

"We simply don't think any fiscal measure that the government could enact will get us out of the market," he added. "Obviously, this is something that will have to be tested in the market."

The biggest party in the governing coalition, the Social Democratic Party, is opposed to raising the consumption tax, and there is some possibility that its members will rebel over the issue. That might cause a new delay in the introducing the stimulus package.

ROVER: BMW's \$1.2 Billion Deal

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operations in Britain. But Rover's chairman, George Simpson, said: "Today's development may suggest some change in that relationship."

Mr. Pischetsrieder said at a news conference in London that there was little overlap between BMW's and Rover's product lines and that BMW would be able to expand distribution of Rover's cars, particularly in key markets like Germany and the United States. This, he said, might enable Rover to expand production.

"Producing in England offers BMW advantages," said Gebhart Klingenstein, managing director in Frankfurt of Barclays de Zoete Wedderburn, a brokerage controlled by Barclays Bank. "Wages are lower there, so building there makes sense."

Rover sold 420,000 cars last year, primarily in Britain, and was the only European automaker to sell more cars than in 1992, reflecting Britain's recovery from the recession that continues to plague much of the rest of Europe. Rover had a pretax operating profit last year of

\$26 million, or \$84 million, on sales of \$4.3 billion. In 1992, Rover had an operating loss of \$49 million.

BMW sold 534,000 of its luxury cars worldwide, including 78,000 in the United States, where its sales have been rebounding, aided by an improving economy and aggressive price cuts. BMW is building an assembly plant in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Mr. Pischetsrieder said BMW saw an opportunity to sell more Land Rovers around the world, including in the United States, possibly by distributing them through BMW's dealer network.

But analysts said the real motivation for BMW was to establish itself in the market for smaller, less-expensive cars. Rover's strengths are that end of the market in cars like its Micro and Mini and its 200 and 400 series.

"There's no doubt that it's going to be very difficult to survive in Europe solely as a producer of large and executive cars," said John Lawson, an automotive analyst at DRI/McGraw-Hill in London.

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THE AMERICAS / NOT-SO-SPECIAL FRIENDSHIP

U.S. Platform for Sinn Fein Chief Dismays the British

POLITICAL NOTES

How Clean Is Clean? Reprieve on Toxic Sites

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration is about to propose a major revision of the Superfund law that would ease requirements for cleaning up some toxic waste dumps, depending on how the land would be used in the future.

The administration's bill will be one of the most important and most debated pieces of environmental legislation Congress considers this year. It is expected to be made public this week with the endorsements of several congressional leaders.

The 1980 Superfund law, which created the largest program administered by the Environmental Protection Agency, was intended to ensure that businesses assumed the liability, currently estimated at \$80 billion to \$100 billion, for cleaning up thousands of sites where hazardous substances were dumped. But it has failed to achieve many of its goals, with slightly more than 200 sites cleaned up and with years lost to costly litigation over who should pay for the work. One reason is the law's inflexibility, a problem the new approach is meant to redress.

Carol M. Browner, the agency's head, and other senior officials said that the changes the administration was proposing were intended to speed the cleaning of sites, to lower the costs of making them safe and to encourage economic development at many urban sites. One way to do this, they said, was to be flexible in answering a simple question that never has a simple answer: "How clean is clean?"

"There will be different levels of clean," Ms. Browner said. She said that the legislation would require cleaning a site to the highest level possible if the land was intended for residential development, where people would face the greatest risk of exposure to lingering pollution. Less restoration would be needed if the site was to be used for commercial or industrial development, where the risks of exposure would be less.

(NYT)

Clinton Sometimes Boasts Press Out the Door

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton feels cloistered in the White House and sometimes leaves without waiting for reporters to be notified, he told them Monday. But the president said that it has not happened often and that the press usually catches up with him.

Mr. Clinton and his spokeswoman both denied that he routinely slips out of the White House without reporters. Dee Dee Myers, the White House press secretary, said that the president "has accepted without embracing" the notion that he does not leave the White House without taking the press pool.

The president was being asked about a *Time* magazine report that said he left the White House six times last year with Secret Service agents in tow but without his usual trail of reporters. "I don't think so," Mr. Clinton said.

"Once I went running when the press had gone home, but I think they found me before it was over," he said. "And then when I was home, for my mother's funeral, you know, I went out in the town there, I went to my old high school. But the press found me."

Asked if he felt cloistered in the White House, Mr. Clinton said: "Oh, yes. I wish it weren't so."

(AP)

Ex-Boston Mayor Weighs Governorship Run

BOSTON — Raymond Flynn, the former mayor of Boston, says he is leaning toward a run for governor, but he will not say when or if he will step down as U.S. ambassador to the Vatican. "I feel that there is more than a 50-50 chance I will run," he said.

Mr. Flynn hinted at his interest in running for governor back in March, when he stepped down as Boston mayor midway through his third term to accept the embassy post.

The Democrat, who has been in the race for three days, testing political waters but committing to nothing, Mr. Flynn said that if he decided to run against Governor William F. Weld, a Republican, he would not announce it until March 17, which is St. Patrick's Day.

He missed the state Democratic Committee's Friday deadline to put all candidates' names before the nominating convention in June. He now would have to collect signatures from 200 of the more than 4,000 delegates expected to attend the convention.

(AP)

Quote/Unquote

President Bill Clinton, speaking to two fellow University of Arkansas graduates — Jerry Jones, the Dallas Cowboys owner, and Jimmy Johnson, the coach — after their Superbowl football victory: "I was really proud of you. I can relate to that getting down and coming back — and you didn't quit!"

Away From Politics

Smoking and drug use by teenagers is on the rise. An annual survey of 51,000 high school and eighth-grade youths found that more are now experimenting with cocaine and other illicit drugs. The study by University of Michigan researchers found that 9 percent of eighth graders (children about 13 years old), 19 percent of 10th graders and 26 percent of 12th graders reported using marijuana in the past year — increases of 2 to 4 percentage points from a year earlier. Eight percent of the eighth graders, 14 percent of 10th graders and 19 percent of the seniors said they smoked cigarettes daily — up by 1 to 2 percentage points.

An illegal hunting ring killed at least 30 California black bears and sold them gall bladders and other parts for thousands of dollars, authorities said. The alleged ringleader, William Jim Task Lee, 35, has been charged with four felony counts of illegal hunting and trading. Some Asian cultures consider bears' gall bladders to have medicinal value and bear paws and other parts to be delicacies.

The roundup begins for the U.S. shuttle flight with a Russian cosmonaut, who will share the duties with an American crew. The shuttle's pilot, Kenneth Reightler, said of Sergei Krikalev, "We're going to keep him busy on this flight."

A father in Miami gunned down his three children, aged 5, 4 and 1, and a family friend and wounded his wife before killing himself. The police said they did not know William Gutierrez's motive for the rampage at the family's apartment.

Four employees of a Taco Bell restaurant were found shot to death in Clarksville, Tennessee, in an apparent robbery.

(AP)

Gags on Free Speech Unsettle Canadians

By Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Service

TORONTO — Canadians do not think of themselves as a nation of censors. Free speech and a free press, along with other fundamental liberties, are enshrined in their constitution. Political debate and artistic expression are vigorous here.

That is why some Canadians are beginning to question a spate of new constraints on free expression imposed by courts and law enforcement agencies.

To free-speech activists and a few journalists, a succession of recent news blackouts and pornography seizures represent a bleak trend toward repression. To most others, censorship at the edges is an acceptable trade-off for social order. Like most Canadian arguments, this one makes copious reference to the example, good and bad, of the United States.

The most startling incident in the free-speech debate was a police raid on a Toronto art gallery three days before Christmas. Acting under new statutes on child pornography, police seized five paintings that depicted naked children and adults in intimate juxtaposition. The artist and gallery owner are being prosecuted.

Censorship, a free-speech group, compared the gallery raid to another form of state harassment that it has been tracking for years: Canada customs officials, acting under obscenity laws, repeatedly have seized shipments of books at the U.S. border, chiefly gay and lesbian titles.

These encroachments come at a time when Canada's tradition of maintaining political design, which the Clinton plan has in spades, compares to the right combination of fervor and skill.

The last time Congress was faced with enacting vast social change, it took the bravery of civil rights demonstrators and the brutality of Birmingham to get the lawmakers' attention, plus the persuasive skills of President Johnson and his aide, Larry O'Brien, to win passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But ever since Mr. Clinton proposed a free-speech group, compared the gallery raid to another form of state harassment that it has been tracking for years: Canada customs officials, acting under obscenity laws, repeatedly have seized shipments of books at the U.S. border, chiefly gay and lesbian titles.

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In the United States, journalists believe the law doesn't apply to them; said John Honerich, editor of the *Montana Star*, Canada's largest newspaper. "In Canada, journalists believe we have no special rights. We're like everyone else, we respect the law."

The Defense Ministry spokesman said Washington and Seoul had agreed to scrap the annual "Team Spirit" military exercise only if Pyongyang demonstrated that it was not developing nuclear arms.

"Our position," the spokesman said, "is that unless the North agrees to full nuclear inspections, Team Spirit will be held this year, although the March schedule might be rearranged."

North Korea denies developing nuclear arms but is resisting demands by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency for access to nuclear facilities. Pyongyang calls the Team Spirit maneuvers a re-

hearsal for invasion and has long demanded that they be stopped.

In overnight statements, it repeated its angry reaction to U.S. plans to deploy the anti-missile batteries in the South and what it said were American moves to increase intelligence-gathering.

"The military and intelligence measures taken by

the United States," a statement said, "are far removed from peaceful negotiation and are premeditated provocative maneuvers that will bring the situation of the Korean Peninsula to an extremely reckless phase of war."

The atomic energy agency said it was awaiting Pyongyng's response to its demands for access to gear up for war.

Southern military officials have confirmed that Seoul supports the deployment of the Patriot missiles, which were used in the Gulf War against Scud missiles similar to those possessed by Pyongyng.

The Defense Ministry spokesman, citing constant military threats from the Stalinist North, also talked of U.S. plans to deploy Apache attack helicopters and upgrade military equipment.

But he declined to comment on a report in the Chosun Ilbo daily that quoted a senior naval official as saying Seoul planned three new submarines to increase its submarine fleet to nine by 2001.

But South Korean leaders appeared eager to calm anxieties.

(Reuters, AP)

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL — South Korea will hold major military exercises with the United States this year unless North Korea allows inspections of its suspect nuclear sites, a Defense Ministry spokesman said Monday.

The stakes in the North-South diplomatic standoff were further raised by unconfirmed news reports that Seoul had decided to add three submarines to its fleet. But Prime Minister Lee Hoi Chang insisted that recent military developments, including a plan to station the Patriot missile defense system in the South, did not mean that the nation faced a greater threat from North Korea.

"Nothing has changed on the Korean security situation," he said.

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But South Korean leaders appeared eager to calm anxieties.

(Reuters, AP)

Continued from Page 1

then they did whatever it took to raise Buffalo hopes.

Then Thurman Thomas fumbled. Again.

The man who lost his helmet in Super Bowl XXVI, the man who was held to 19 yards rushing in Super Bowl XXVII, the man who had lost a fumble in the first half Sunday, had done it again.

The ball squirted out of a pile near midfield. James Washington of the Cowboys picked it up and headed toward the Bills' end zone 46 yards away.

That split second, when Washington grabbed the ball, was the millisecond when the wills of the Bills failed. Ten Cowboys bounced up off the artificial turf, looking for somebody to block. Seven Bills lay on the ground.

At the Super Bowl, you hear that the Bills have no heart, that they play in a weak conference and have developed a hulky complex. They beat so many AFC teams so badly that, when somebody matches or surpasses their raw talent, they stop playing.

Knowing that they carry this reputation, the Bills needed to summon themselves as few teams ever have. Instead, they turned their eyes away from each other and contemplated their Bill-less. When self-destruction goes into shock, at the very least, Thomas went into a cramp. That's what the Bills say. When Buffalo got the ball again, the Terminator was standing on the sideline watching.

Of course, the Cowboys, like a great team, smelled the kill. Still, the way the Bills rolled over was vintage.

They hit a lull, I really believe that," said the game's most valuable player, Emmitt Smith. "They fell into a slump."

Kelly got sacked by a multitude of Cowboys on third down. An awful punt gave the Bills the ball at their 43. And Jimmy Johnson told his Pokes to test the stomach of the Bills defense.

On eight snaps, Smith carried seven times, always between the tackles, always attacking bigger men. "We ran the same play every time," Smith said. "I'm not going to tell you what play because we'll have to use it next year. But if you can't stop it, we're going to run it and run it and run it."

It was Smith for 9, 3, 9, 7, 13, 4 and, finally, 16 yards for a touchdown and a 20-13 lead.

"The fumble recovery, then the long march on the ground changed the game," said the Bills' coach, Marv Levy. "They didn't really run the ball very well at any other time, except that drive."

"You have nothing to be ashamed of," Levy told each player afterward in the locker room. "I have no words of wisdom. I couldn't have any higher regard for you as a person if we won."

Don't be too forgiving. As much anything, great sports events are about moments of truth and what teams do when they arrive. Few teams have left as vivid an image of their response to such crises as the Bills. First, they don't get up off the deck very fast. Then, they don't band together and fight back. You can't say anything much worse about a team than that.

Continued from Page 1

that Pepsi holds about a 3-to-1 lead over Coke, with Squirt running a distant third.

According to Mr. Méndez, Tenejapa's preference for Pepsi actually has little to do with religion but lots to do with the town's mayor, Sebastián López. He is a member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party that has controlled federal, state and local politics in Mexico for the past six decades.

"He is known as 'El Pepsi' because he has the only Pepsi bottling concession in the area," Mr. Méndez said.

Mr. López has made the soft drink a virtual form of currency in this impoverished mountain town. If one man assaults another man here, Mr. Méndez said, Mr. López administers justice by ordering the guilty party to buy the other a Pepsi. If someone is caught stealing, Mr. López allows him to apologize by buying a few cases for the town.

Mr. Lopez was not available for comment. His aides refused to answer questions and ordered townspies not to talk to journalists. They did anyway, as long as the topic did not veer from pooh and Pépé.

Strictly forbidden were any questions relating to a Jan. 1 uprising near here by Indian peasant rebels of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. Elders, along with other townspies, have mastered the stock response to journalists: "We know nothing about it."

In nearby Winkin, villagers who describe themselves as political outcasts from Tenejapa speak of Mr. López in terms of revulsion and spite. They are members of a small leftist oppo-

sition party dedicated to the downfall of Mr. López's party. To demonstrate their political commitment, they said, they have adopted Coca-Cola as the unofficial village beverage.

Last April, Coca-Cola said it was moving to regain market share recently lost to Pepsi by purchasing a 30 percent stake in the nation's largest bottling company for nearly \$200 million. A month earlier, Pepsi announced plans to invest \$750 million in various bottling concerns nationwide.

To accompany its expansion, Coca-Cola launched a new advertising campaign in China late last year to promote a new two-liter (half-gallon) bottle. The company, however, has yet to change its newest slogan to promote the bottle, which was plastered on billboards just before the uprising: "It's Revolution!"

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Herald Tribune

INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Now for the Budget Battle

Last year, Bill Clinton and Congress had their big budget battle. This year they count the wounded. The budget rules are tighter than the critics suggest. For just about any legislated spending increase there has to be an offsetting cut. To finance the various spending increases he will propose, the president, according to his budget director, will recommend cuts in inflation-adjusted terms in more than 500 programs. Many of these have been dear to Democratic hearts. There has already been some skirmishing over proposals for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Labor. Advocacy groups that used to be allies find themselves rivals in the scrap for funds. There has not been a budget like this in memory.

Three questions occur as the president prepares to submit the budget next Monday: The threshold issue is whether Congress will make the cuts it wants. The second is whether, if it does make the cuts, it will also agree to spend the proceeds as it wants it, or follow an election-year agenda of its own. The third is whether the tightness of the budget will help to deflect such further showmanship as the misbegotten balanced budget amendment to the constitution, due to come up in the Senate in February. The administration rightly hopes so. Last week the Congressional Budget Office confirmed the salutary effect that last year's budget agreement will likely have on the deficit over the next few years. Budget director Leon Panetta pointed on the report to observe that "if you're willing to make tough choices, you don't need to change the constitution."

Here, from three great domestic departments that have always been home to Democrats, is a little of what you can expect. At Housing, to free up funds for dealing with the homeless and for other purposes, the adminis-

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Secrets, Secrets, Secrets

Washington's secret war over secrecy has taken a predictable turn. A year ago, President Bill Clinton asked an interagency working group to establish a less secretive system for classifying documents. The working group labored, and came up with a draft executive order in November, which (naturally) was kept secret. Fortunately, a copy was leaked to the Federation of American Scientists. And so, the federation found that while suggesting a few modest reforms, the draft order would actually close the shutter tighter.

The draft order proposes, with a few exceptions, a maximum classification lifetime of 40 years. As the federation's analysts point out, Richard Nixon set a maximum of 30 years for most classified documents, and Jimmy Carter fixed the limit at 20 years. This extended period outweighs the hypothetical benefit of a "balancing test" that would allow declassifiers to weigh the public interest against national security concerns.

The acting archivist of the United States, Trudy Peterson, made the point in a recent letter to Vice President Al Gore: "In our experience, there is virtually no information over 30 years old that requires continued classification. Most documents of this age are so irrelevant to current security concerns that continued withholding seems inappropriate if not laughable."

Ms. Peterson is custodian of 325 million classified documents, including files dating to World War I. The secret establishment opposes en masse declassification, and favors an

arduous reviewing process that would take decades. Otherwise, it is said, the genuinely sensitive morsel might fall into the wrong hands.

Granted, that is a risk. But how much greater is the danger to democracy in excessive secrecy that denies Americans information essential to accountability?

A more direct approach to weeding out this secret garden is advocated by Representative Dan Glickman of Kansas, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee. Most documents are classified by executive order, without defined standards on who decides what to keep secret. Mr. Glickman would open the whole process to debate in public hearings and is drafting a bill that would establish clear rules and fix a 10-year or six-year limit, whenever feasible, on classified security matters.

Those House hearings might also illuminate another murky front in the administration's avowed war on secrecy. In 1993, for the third consecutive year, the Senate adopted a resolution urging disclosure of the now secret budget of the Central Intelligence Agency. Yet Mr. Clinton only a few weeks ago refused again to divulge the aggregate intelligence budget. With the Cold War over, this secrecy is hard to justify.

The case for sunlight was expressed long ago by James Madison: "A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or perhaps both."

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

Environmental Protectionism

The European Commission's president, Jacques Delors, let the cat out of the bag when he cited the danger to Europe's prosperity from Asian imports as his reason for welcoming President Bill Clinton's attempt to impose environmental and labor standards on developing countries. True, this was a French cat; but the bag is Western and it is loaded with hypocrisy. Fortunately, the Western camp is not united in opportunism. The European Union's trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, has repudiated Mr. Clinton's new trade agenda on the ground that he did "not want to have a pretext for protectionism in the name of the environment."

This is not to deny that many Asian cities and waterways, and some agricultural land, forests and air quality, have deteriorated as the region grows apart. But Western industrial states experienced far worse damage at comparable stages of their development. The West's attempt to champion environmental concerns is therefore, a poorly camouflaged form of rear-guard action that pays unwitting tribute to Asia's present and potential status.

—The Straits Times (Singapore).

Mysteries of Health Care

It doesn't make any sense to me that our nation accounts for 40 percent of all health care spending around the world, and we have only 5 percent of the people. It doesn't make any sense to me that what we get for that additional spending is a lower proportion of citizens with health care than the other indus-

—AsiaWeek (Hong Kong).

International Herald Tribune

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This Smart Russian Plans While Featherbedders Rule

By William Safire

DAVOS, Switzerland — You "500 days" — the serious capitalist-reform plan that Mikhail Gorbachev rejected sealing his doom — the 41-year-old economist heads a bloc of about 8 percent of the seats in the new State Duma.

I collared him for a three-hour, late-night talk in an alpine hotel lobby. No wonder the reformers lost the election, Mr. Yeltsin says: All that was offered was quasi-reform.

The promised stabilization of the ruble never happened; what little privatization was done was more like collectivization: since 1989, gross national product declined by half; instead of more democracy, the people saw more crime and corruption. And this was supposed to be "reform"?

What seemed to anger Mr. Yeltsin most was that "payments were never made." Last year, after prices were negotiated to buy goods from farmers and producers, the government double-crossed the sellers (Mr. Yeltsin glumly confirmed this, blaming overpricing by Mr. Chernomyrdin). No wonder quasi-reform was rejected at the polls.

Yeltsin has positioned himself as a constructive critic of the Yeltsin government today, and dissociated himself from its faltering reforms.

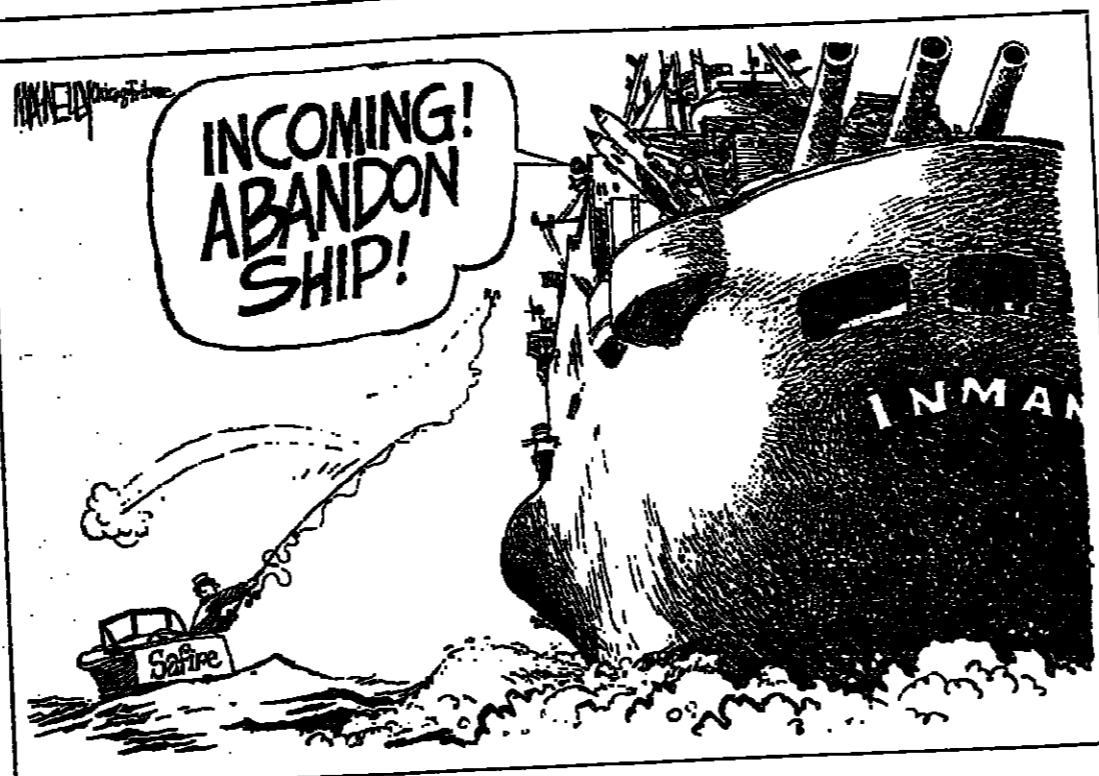
35-year-old economist followed other free-marketers, abandoned by Mr. Yeltsin and spurned by the voters, over the side. "If you take the blame for what you have not done," he says, "that's just stupid."

That leaves Russia's government in the hands of Mr. Yeltsin's prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, champion of the featherbedding state industrialists. His strategy: Let inflation roar up over 20 percent a month — that's a month — then become a popular hero by imposing price controls.

How can Russians who believe in freedom avoid this? Evidently Mr. Yeltsin wants power more to preside than to lead; this may prevent dictatorship. But the reformers do not have a leader; the democratic way is to fight it out or make a political deal. Their backstage power broker and campaign manager will be Gennadi Burbulis, the image-maker who talked the Russian military into letting Mr. Yeltsin speak atop a friendly tank.

Several of the candidates for savior of Russia after the coming hyperinflation and freeze were lined up in a seminar at Davos. A tall Swede sitting in the audience next to me was high on Anatoli Chubais, in charge of privatization, as a political corner; he is last of the new capitalists running the rapids on the Yeltsin raft — where for the falls. (I asked the Swede what he did and it turns out he prime-ministers lotsa bishash here.)

The Russian who clearly dominated the proceedings with both his passion and presence was Grigori Yavlinsky. Known in the West as the man of



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Constructive Differences

Regarding "A Destructive Culture of Critique" (Opinion, Jan. 18):

In arguing that argument, per se, is an evil or at least a non-desideratum — that it causes people to, among other things, not listen to each other, distort facts in support of their opinions, and do extra work sorting out misrepresentations from bona fide assertions — Deborah Tannen rings against the wrong culprit, giving argument a bum rap. For it is not argument, per se, that is guilty of these evils, but rather arguing in the wrong spirit.

There are two ways one can argue, which I call "adversarial" (or confrontational, combative, pugnacious, bellicose — choose your word) and "collaborative." In the first, the motivation is to destroy one's opponent; in the second, to learn the truth, through a search conducted in collaboration with one's opponent.

Mr. Tannen has the right idea when she asserts that "modeling intellectual interchange as a fight" is dangerous, but why does the fact that such an interchange is an "argument" necessarily make it a "fight"? Why can it not simply be a game? Both sides win no matter who wins the argument, by moving closer to the truth.

ROBERT S. SEGELBAUM
Le Diamant, Martinique

A Magnet's Attraction

Regarding "Good Sense and Law" (Letters, Jan. 19):

Returning to America after a six-year assignment in Europe has been easier than many had led me to believe. I was warned about culture shock, violence, educational decline, the breakdown of the nation's infrastructure.

But what I found was a society with

the principles, virtues and values that have long made it a magnet drawing the hopeful of the world.

The longer we lived in Europe, the more we came to realize how prescriptive the society was. Just before we left, my son asked if we had to register with the police when we moved back.

The talk now is of partitioning Bosnia, an apartheid solution just when the world desperately needs more brotherhood. Europe is Bosnia, ruled with petty distrusts and deep-seated xenophobia.

In contrast, America remains a remaining frontage of plurality, opportunity and creative freedom. An "illegal" Mexican immigrant wins a scholarship to the University of Chicago; an African-American was chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, a Jewish woman named to the Supreme Court.

America has always benefited from the contributions of its immigrants. I hope that those voices that would have us close our doors are few in number.

NICHOLAS H. SOMMERS
Divonne, France

Punitive Indeed

Regarding "Don't Get Comfortable Under This Volcano" (Meanwhile, Jan. 27) by David Reid:

Sami-Victor Elias is wrong: There is nothing insane about the \$78 million in punitive damages levied in the Domino Pizza case because, in this context, \$78 million is not that much money. Some executives receive that much in annual compensation; for large corporations, billion-dollar nets are not unusual.

A punitive award is, of course, intended to punish; it has to be large enough to hurt. Without the evidence

DENIS MACSHANE
Divonne, France

Citrus and Them

Regarding "Good Sense and Law" (Letters, Jan. 19):

Mr. Reid mentioned the names and commentary of many famous people who have wondered about the relationship between mankind and nature in Somalia. He might add to his list a quote from Fred Allen, the 1930s radio and movie comedian, who said: "California is great, if you are an orange."

PHILIP REAVIS
Paris

GENERAL NEWS

Somalia: The Battle That Changed U.S. Policy

By Rick Atkinson
Washington Post Service

MOGADISHU, Somalia — In the war-torn neighborhood of south Mogadishu that the Somalis sardonically call "Bosnia," militia Colonel Ali Aden had finished his Sunday lunch on Oct. 3 and was lounging with his platoon when an urgent order came over the radio.

U.S. soldiers had swept into a building near the Olympic Hotel and were about to take away 24 Somali prisoners, including two lieutenants of the fugitive militia leader, General Mohammed Farrah Aideed. Colonel Aden, 41, a former officer in the Somali Army, was to master his militia immediately.

"Reinforce the western sector," he was told by his superior, Colonel Sharif Hassan Giimale, who had moved to a covert headquarters several hundred meters from the hotel. "Don't let reinforcements been unanticipated by Major Gen-

eral William F. Garrison, com-

mander of the Task Force. Ten

days earlier, Delta commandos had

rehearsed a scenario in which a

Black Hawk was downed. The heli-

copter used in that exercise was the

same Super 6-1 that now lay in a

heap with the pilot dead and five

soldiers — three Delta snipers and

two crew chiefs — injured.

The loss of a helicopter had not

been unanticipated by Major Gen-

eral Garrison, com-

mander of the Task Force. Ten

days earlier, Delta commandos had

rehearsed a scenario in which a

Black Hawk was downed. The heli-

copter used in that exercise was the

same Super 6-1 that now lay in a

heap with the pilot dead and five

soldiers — three Delta snipers and

two crew chiefs — injured.

In the fusillade of Somali gunfire,

an MH-6 Little Bird swooped in

next to the wreckage. One of the

pilots dashed into the alley and

the adjoining alley had become a kill

ing zone. Within an hour, 10 of the

13 men with Lieutenant Perino

were wounded. Delta and the

search-and-rescue team suffered

comparable casualties. So many

Somalis moved through the neigh-

borhood that helicopter gunners

overhead ignored those with rifles

to concentrate on the more lethal

rocket-propelled grenade gunners.

Amed Warsame lay in the back

of a four-ton truck, listening in ter-

ror to the battle raging around him.

He and the other Somali prisoners

captured on Hiwadag Street were

packed into the truck bed. Plastic

cuffs cut into Warsame's wrists

leaving scars that would be visible

two months later.

Tank Force Ranger had intended

to take the prisoners by convoy

directly to the airfield. Instead, the

Ranger battalion commander,

Lieutenant Colonel Danny

Garrison, was ordered to reinforce

the crash site.

Gunfire raked the convoy at ev-

ery intersection. Somalis sprinted

desperately outnumbered by So-

malis gunmen swarming toward the

bulk of Super 6-4. The pilot had

vomited from the cockpit shortly

after the crash. He was never seen

again. The Delta pair managed to extract the badly injured co-pilot, Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durst, and lay him on the right side of the wreckage.

What happened next is uncertain. The shooting intensified as the Somalis pressed to within 10 meters of the helicopter. Officer Durst heard Sergeant Shugart cry out from the other side of the helicopter: "I'm hit!" Sergeant Gordon reappeared, handed Officer Durst a rifle with a full ammunition clip and made a quick radio call for help before returning to defend the airfield.

Less than a kilometer south of the Olympic Hotel, Mohammed Warsame, 63, in no relation to the prisoner in the truck — sat beneath the awning in front of his tin shack, listening to the distant roar of battle and waiting for his dinner.

Mr. Warsame heard a strange throbboing, a labored engine noise coming from the east. With a tremendous din, a Black Hawk helicopter slammed into the ground less than 15 meters (50 feet) from where he was sitting. The helicopter, Super 6-4, had been hit in the tail by a rocket-propelled grenade while orbiting almost directly over the wreckage of the first Black Hawk.

The destruction at 4:40 P.M. of the second Black Hawk, Super 6-4, complicated planning for General Garrison. Task Force Ranger had barely enough troops to defend one site; covering two was impossible. All four crewmen apparently survived the second crash.

After a brief huddle, a volley of gunfire swept the clearing. Officer Durst heard Sergeant Gordon cry in pain, then silence. Out of ammunition, the co-pilot laid his M-16 across his chest and waited for the mob that soon engulfed him.

For conspicuous gallantry in offering their lives to defend their comrades, Sergeant Shugart and Sergeant Gordon would be nominated for the Medal of Honor. Officer Durst would survive 11 days in captivity to bear witness to their valor.

The battle would wax and wane until well past dawn. In his office at the UN compound, Major General Thomas M. Montgomery, commander of conventional U.S. forces in Somalia, ordered the Quick Reaction Force from the 10th Mountain Division to regroup for another rescue attempt.

At General Garrison's urgent request for "some tanks and some APCs," or armored personnel carriers, General Montgomery called the Pakistani and Malaysian commanders, also twice rejected a similar request — to deliver two Delta snipers to the second crash site by Black Hawk — then agreed to a third after learning the Quick Reaction Force had been ambushed.

Super 6-2, piloted by Chief Warrant Officer Michael A. Goffena, found a clearing about 90 meters southwest of the second crash site. He touched down long enough for the Delta snipers, Sergeant 1st Class Randall D. Shugart and Master Sergeant Gary L. Gordon, to leap from the Black Hawk bay.

Ten minutes later, a rocket-propelled grenade smashed into the right side of Officer Goffena's helicopter, knocking his co-pilot unconscious and shearing away the leg of a third Delta sniper managing the door gun. Officer Goffena kept the helicopter airborne long enough to make a crash landing at the New Port.

With their overhead protection gone, Sergeant Gordon and Sergeant Shugart found themselves back on Earth in the future when human beings have become beasts under the command of apes.

He was awarded several medals for bravery.

"Bridge on the River Kwai," one of his earliest works, was turned

Quick Reaction Force mustered at the New Port with four Pakistani tanks and 28 Malaysian armored personnel carriers. At 11:15 P.M., a convoy of 70 vehicles headed north from the port, only to be ambushed repeatedly after swinging left onto National Street.

Plagued by confusion and a language barrier, the lead two Malaysian armored vehicles carrying a U.S. squad turned south instead of north. They were destroyed by rocket-propelled grenade fire near the old presidential palace, killing a Malaysian driver and wounding several others. The U.S. lieutenant in charge blew a hole in a wall surrounding an adjacent cluster of houses, then herded his men into the shelter of a courtyard.

Farther north, a Quick Reaction Force unit, Alpha Company of the 14th Infantry's 2d Battalion, battled through barricades and ambushes to reach Task Force Ranger at 1:55 A.M. They remained there until dawn, when a Humvee with a tow rope succeeded in prying apart the wreckage of Super 6-1, enough to extract the body of the pilot, Chief Warrant Officer Clifton P. Wolcott.

Meanwhile, Charlie Company of the 14th Infantry's 2d Battalion pushed south from National Street to search the wreckage of the other downed Black Hawk. Only a few blood trails suggested the fate of those who had fought to death around Super 6-4.

At 7 A.M., after an exhausting retreat, all survivors had reached safety. The final tally would include 18 Americans and one Malaysian killed, plus 34 Americans and 7 Malaysians wounded. Somali rebels put their losses at 312 killed and 814 wounded.

The final act was played out Jan. 18 when the last eight Somalis pris-

oners in UN custody were released in Mogadishu.

The Italians complied, but their tanks would not be needed. The

French gained a triple Academy Award winner in 1957.

The movie won an Oscar for best film, while David Lean was named best director and Alec Guinness was best actor.

International Herald Tribune, Tuesday, February 1, 1994

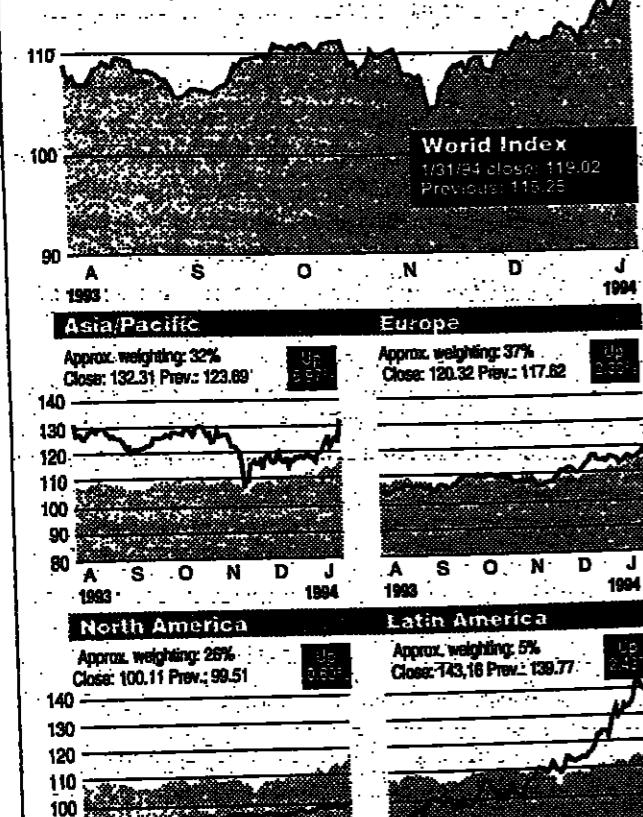
Page 7



THE TRIB INDEX: 119.02

International Herald Tribune World Stock Index ©, composed of 280 Internationally investable stocks from 25 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News. Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.

120



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela. For Tokyo, New York, and London, the index is composed of the top 20 issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the ten top stocks are tracked.

Industrial Sectors

Sector	Approx. weight	Close 1993	Prev. 1993	Close 1994	Prev. 1994
Energy	11.25	114.27	+1.73	116.45	+13.81
Utilities	12.74	122.97	-3.47	124.70	+1.47
Finance	12.45	118.26	-5.07	103.85	+10.40
Services	128.47	124.57	-3.33	141.55	+18.99

For more information about the index, a booklet is available free of charge. Write to Trib Index, 151 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92221 Neuilly Cedex, France.

© International Herald Tribune

India Aims For Credit Upgrade It Says Reform Is 'Irreversible'

By Kevin Murphy
International Herald Tribune

BOMBAY — Urging international credit-rating agencies to acknowledge a "remarkable" economic turnaround, the head of the Reserve Bank of India called Monday for a reassessment of his country's sovereign risk.

"Our reform program is on course; we can't go back," the central bank governor, said Chakravarthy Rangarajan. "With the remarkable turnaround in our balance of payments and the stability of the rupee, our credit rating should be re-examined."

"There is no justification for the continuation of a rating one notch below investment grade first assigned in February 1991," Mr. Rangarajan said, noting the study was made before the current reformist government came to power in June of that year.

In New York, the major credit agencies defended their ratings of India, pointing out they were the same as Mexico's, another country in the throes of reform. Moody's Investors Service rates both countries Baa2, which is two levels below investment grade, and Standard & Poor's Corp. BB-plus, which is one level below.

Vincent Truglia, Moody's senior analyst for India, noted that India had a high debt-to-exports ratio of 2.5 and "remains vulnerable financially."

"Although the reform process is definitely moving in the right direction, it is clear that within political institutions this process is still controversial," Mr. Truglia said. He added that the vulnerability of the reform process to a change in leadership was amply demonstrated by the fears that it would be derailed if Finance Minister Manmohan Singh recently threatened to resign.

Guido Capriati, S&P's analyst for India, said that while external pressures had eased and he would expect the central bank to stress this, India

See INDIA, Page 11

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Governments in the Dock European CEOs Bemoan Leadership Void

By Alan Friedman
and Jonathan Gage
International Herald Tribune

DAVOS, Switzerland — Top executives of major multinational corporations accused European governments and central banks Monday of a failure of leadership that threatens to prolong recession and lead to social unrest.

Carlo De Benedetti, chairman of Olivetti SpA, the Italian office automation group, warned that "the social consequences of the recession need political leadership and there is a lack of political leadership in any country in Europe."

He spoke during a roundtable discussion of corporate strategies to beat recession sponsored here by the International Herald Tribune and the World Economic Forum.

Mr. De Benedetti, in remarks won vigorous approval from Allan D. Gilmour, vice chairman of Ford Motor Co., singled out Bundesbank policy for criticism, causing the German central bank of being wedded to "a religious position on interest rates" that was stifling European industry.

The only choice for industry, all roundtable participants agreed, is to plow ahead with its own solutions. They said that to survive the recession it was necessary to make savings cuts in operating costs, including reducing work force levels and establishing more manufacturing operations and new ventures in growing low-wage markets in Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe.

The other roundtable participants were Percy Barneville, president and chief executive of ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd., the Swiss-based electrical engineering company; Minoru Murofushi, president and chief executive of Itochu Corp., the Japanese trading company; Romano Prodi, chairman of IRI, the Italian steel-to-airlines state conglomerate, and Horst

Sieberi, president of the Kiel Institute of World Economics in Germany.

Following are excerpts from the discussion:

Q: Please describe specific examples of the strategy your company is following in order to beat the recession.

Mr. Prodi: Steel is the least fashionable and most difficult industry in the world. We have divided our big steel company in three parts, put the companies on the market for privatization, looking for international and local partners and making one-third of the number of workers redundant using a pre-portion scheme and layoffs.

Mr. Murofushi: We started the re-engineering of our company in 1989 and we reduced the number of managers placing more weight on operating divisions.

We have lifetime employment in Japan, so we are seeking some early retirements and putting ceilings on wage increases. The concept of lifetime employment is threatened now, and subject to review.

We also have decentralized the organization, which includes 160 offices in 92 countries, and we have given more authority for investment and financing to local managers. We are allocating more management resources to strategic areas such as telecommunications, information businesses, finance, real estate and retailing.

Lastly, we are trying to achieve global strategic alliances in growing businesses such as our alliance with Time Warner in the United States, in order to develop multimedia businesses not only in the U.S. but also in Japan and all over the world. We are also putting more emphasis on growing markets such as China and other Asian countries.

Mr. Gilmour: I'd mention two areas that we worked on during the recession. First of all, cost

See DAVOS, Page 9

Fiat Sees Loss Of \$1 Billion As '93 Sales Fall

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TURIN — Fiat SpA, Italy's largest private company, said Monday it expected to post a \$1 trillion lire (\$1.05 billion) loss for 1993 because car sales in Europe slumped far beyond expectations.

In a letter to shareholders detailing preliminary results, the company said revenue last year fell to \$3.7 trillion lire from \$5.1 trillion in 1992.

If confirmed, the operating loss would be the first for the European automaker since the 1970s and would reflect the drop of about 15 percent in European car sales last year.

The company also said it was launching a \$1 trillion lire fixed-rate 10-year bond issue and a chance to win a car as an incentive for investors to buy the issue. The company will give away 200 car prizes as incentives, it said.

Fiat's chairman, Giovanni Agnelli, said in September that he expected an operating loss of about 1.0 trillion lire for 1993, while analysts expected a similar loss.

Fiat said it had to operate in a "critical and worrying" economic environment in 1993, with the "drastic and widespread" decline

in demand affecting its principal sectors.

He said that 1994 would be another "difficult year," but would mark a turning point.

Despite the uncertain outlook for this year, the company said it was determined to press ahead with its strategy of boosting investment and cutting costs. The company is locked in a bitter struggle with unions over plans to lay off 15,000 workers, which is about 7 percent of its Italian workforce.

Fiat Auto posted 1993 net sales of 24.35 trillion lire, down from 27.45 trillion in 1992. Its investments were 5.060 trillion against 3.924 trillion a year earlier and its number of employees fell to 120,330 from 125,578.

Fiat Auto with its three brands, Alfa Romeo, Lancia and Fiat, sold 1.675 million cars and commercial vehicles in 1993, of which 1.25 million were sold in Europe, where it holds an 11.2 percent share of the car market.

In Italy, Fiat's market share rose close to 45 percent and should continue to rise, thanks to the "extremely" launch of the new Punto model, Fiat said.

(Reuters, AFX, Bloomberg)

Paris, London Stocks at Highs

Reuters

LONDON — European exchanges ended the month in high gear Monday, with record closing highs set in Paris, London and Brussels, while Frankfurt's DAX index gained 2.06 percent.

The European component of the International Herald Tribune World Stock Index rose 2.30 percent to 120.32.

London and Frankfurt got a boost from BMW's purchase of Rover Group from British Aerospace, while the CAC 40 index in Paris was lifted by hopes for an interest rate cut. In Brussels, a Belgian interest-rate cut boosted stocks, and the move was seen as a harbinger of European easing.

Still, he and others said, the outlook for the Japanese economy remains clouded at best.

Many uncertainties remain over

See TOKYO, Page 11

Tokyo Market: Suddenly, the Place to Be

By Steven Brill
International Herald Tribune

TOKYO — Foreign money is propelling Tokyo share prices to record levels that, by some measures are already more irrational than those at the peak of the bubble economy more than four years ago.

Yet analysts said that despite Monday's 7.84 percent surge, the third-biggest ever for the Nikkei

index, overseas and domestic funds would likely continue to pour into Tokyo stocks, if only for lack of better alternatives.

For foreign investors, U.S. and Southeast Asian stocks are seen as overheated, having boomed for

more than the past year. European, American and recently a trickle of Asian investors pumped roughly 1.2 trillion yen into Tokyo stocks in January, helping boost the Nikkei index by 16.14 percent.

Even with Monday's spike to 20,229.12, the index remains just above its peak level hit at the closing session of 1989.

Japanese investors, who have stayed mostly at home, are making a similar shift. After a tremendous rally, they are taking profits out of the bond market and putting the funds into stocks, which have suffered a worse decline since 1989 than U.S. shares in the first four years of the Great Depression.

"It's liquidity looking for a lagard market," said Cameron Umetsu, senior economist at MMS International. "Funds are flowing to the relative safety of Japan."

Yet based on prospective earnings for the year through March, 1995, Tokyo stocks are trading at a price-earnings ratio of about 90, compared with 70 when the market peaked in 1989. Investors, though, appear unconcerned.

"People are focused only on the supply-demand relationship, and that definitely favors Japanese equities," said Paul Migliorato, a senior salesman at Jardine Fleming Securities.

In essence, the argument for shares in the world's second-biggest equity market is the same "flow of funds" or "weight of money" formula that was used to justify the rally in the bubble era of the late 1980s. "The fundamentals still don't argue for a big rally, but there's scope for the index to go to 25,000," Mr. Umetsu said.

Key to the bullish outlook is newfound confidence following last weekend's passage of Prime

Minister Morihiko Hosokawa's package of political reform bills.

By making concessions to the opposition Liberal Democrats, Mr. Hosokawa won their cooperation in compiling a series of economic pump-priming measures to be unveiled later this week. The package could be worth as much as a record 15 trillion yen, including 6 trillion yen in income tax cuts and 9 trillion in public works spending and loans for housing investment and small and medium sized companies, according to Japanese press reports.

"These are big figures, very significant," said Masaru Takagi, chief economist at the Fuji Research Institute.

Still, he and others said, the outlook for the Japanese economy remains clouded at best.

Many uncertainties remain over

REPUBLIC NEW YORK CORPORATION SAFRA REPUBLIC HOLDINGS S.A.

Consolidated Statements of Condition and Summaries of Results

These statements and summaries represent the consolidated accounts of Republic New York Corporation and its wholly owned subsidiaries and of Safra Republic Holdings S.A., which is accounted for by the equity method. New York Corporation owns 48.8% of Safra Republic Holdings S.A., which is accounted for by the equity method.

	REPUBLIC NEW YORK CORPORATION	SAFRA REPUBLIC HOLDINGS S.A.		
	December 31,	December 31,		
	1993	1992	1993	1992
Assets				
Cash and due from banks	\$ 636,633	\$ 490,711	\$ 32,082	\$ 34,915
Interest bearing deposits with banks	5,346,647	10,562,885	3,660,269	3,759,581
Precious metals	1,110,434	412,105	145	619
Investment securities	14,949,793	12,331,471	6,182,495	5,194,337
Trading account securities	1,182,093	702,479	87,381	37,327
Federal funds sold and securities purchased	2,322,465	1,505,274	1,128,746	1,101,451
under resale agreements	9,508,558	8,007,457	(102,204)	(52,376)
Loans, net of unearned income	(311,855)	(241,020)		
Allowance for possible loan losses	9,196,703	7,766,437	1,026,542	1,049,075
Loans (net)	4,748,704	3,375,026	310,435	276,005
Other assets				
Total assets	\$39,493,472	\$37,146,388	\$11,299,349	\$10,351,859
Liabilities				
Total deposits	\$22,801,250	\$21,102,187	\$ 7,344,562	\$ 6,897,172
Short term borrowings</td				

Chief of Fokker Resigns Amid Dispute Rumors

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

AMSTERDAM — Erik-Jan Nederkoom, chairman of the Dutch-German airplane maker NV Fokker, resigned Monday in an apparent dispute over restructuring the unprofitable company.

The airplane maker said its supervisory board granted a request by

IG Metall Stages Warning Strikes

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

FRANKFURT — Thousands of metalworkers staged warning strikes across Western Germany on Monday, demanding pay raises that recession-rocked companies said would bring layoffs.

The action disrupted operations at 137 companies in Germany's crucial metalworking and automotive sectors, including Bayrische Motoren Werke AG and the Mercedes-Benz unit of Daimler-Benz AG.

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Fokker said he wanted more than others to cut costs.

Fokker is 51 percent-controlled by the Deutsche Aerospace AG arm of the German industrial conglomerate Daimler-Benz AG.

Andre Mulder, an analyst at Barclays de Zoete Wedd in Amsterdam, said relations between Mr. Nederkoom and the supervisory board had been strained since Deutsche Aerospace bought a majority stake in Fokker in mid-1993.

"The Dutch ministry and people at Fokker said he sold out to DASA too early and too cheaply and was too much of a yes-man to the Germans," Mr. Mulder said. Yet at Kempen & Co. in Amsterdam, another analyst, Volkert Tuyn, said Mr. Nederkoom "wanted to cut costs more than others on the board."

Fokker produces short and medium-haul jet and propeller aircraft.

Fokker reported a loss of 17 million guilders (\$65.6 million) for the first half of this year, compared with a restated profit of 5.89 million guilders for the like period last year. (AP, Bloomberg,AFX)

Mr. Nederkoom to release him from his duties for "personal reasons."

Fokker said Mr. Nederkoom, 50, resigned effectively immediately and would be temporarily succeeded by the deputy chairman, Reinier van Duinen.

Company spokesmen refused to comment further. Some sources said Mr. Nederkoom had been opposed to changes aimed at pulling the company out of the red. But at least one source said he wanted more than others to cut costs.

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Competition Lags in Europe's Sky

But Passengers Wise Up to Promotional Air Fares

By Tom Buerkle

International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — A year after the European Union deregulated its airline industry, competition has been slow to take off, fares remain high on most major routes and big price differences between the countries make a mockery of the Union's single market, passenger groups and analysts say.

Fare reductions have been concentrated on routes to and from Britain, Europe's most deregulated air market, and on a handful of other routes where start-up or low-cost carriers have introduced competition. Airlines are still facing pressure, however, as increasing numbers of travelers eschew unrestricted fares in favor of promotional tariffs.

The EU's open-skies policy, which freed carriers to pick their own routes and set their own fares, hasn't been widely used because it requires a competitive market environment, said Geoffrey Lipman, head of the World Travel and Tourism Council in Brussels.

With traffic on most European routes still dominated by duopolies of national flag carriers, "they tend to operate in the old way. There's no incentive for them to try new products or new prices."

Mr. Lipman sat on a 12-member panel that has advised the European Commission to press ahead with its airline deregulation efforts despite the industry's huge losses, which totaled \$2.2 billion in 1992 and are expected to show little change in 1993.

The nonbinding report, which was due to be formally released on Tuesday but which circulated

Charles Flocard, cited the unrestricted fare from Frankfurt to Madrid, a distance of 1,500 kilometers (925 miles), which at \$423 pounds (\$262) was nearly double the £119 pounds charged for the marginally longer London-Madrid route.

Mr. Flocard said airline inefficiency and an attempt to subsidize unprofitable routes elsewhere were keeping European prices high.

To be sure, deregulation has fostered new competitors and lower fares in some markets. British Midland's growing presence recently forced Sabena to match its business-class fare of 17,840 Belgian francs (\$498) for a Brussels-London roundtrip, undercutting British Airways by about 15 percent.

But the biggest impact so far is stemming from a consumer revolt, led mainly by business travelers seeking to cut costs in the recession.

Tony Vanhelmont, a manager at Belgium International Travel, at the country's largest agent, says about three-quarters of his corporate clients now fly economy-class versus just 10 to 15 percent three years ago.

As a result, only 29 percent of passengers on European flights paid full fare last year, down from 33 percent in 1992 and 39 percent in 1990, according to the Association of European Airlines.

But the discounting is having the desired impact: the carriers filled 58 percent of their seats last year, up from 56.8 percent.

In a letter to the commission, the passenger group's chairman,

new injections of state capital on top of a 1.8 billion-franc (\$305 million) borrowing last year, which the commission is already investigating, this official said.

Whatever the outcome, the experience of the past year suggests that more deregulation, not less, is needed in Europe's skies.

The Federation of Air Transport User Representatives in the European Community, a passenger lobby group, complained to the commission last week that unrestricted fares, the type paid by most business travelers, are far too high.

In a letter to the commission, the passenger group's chairman,

Monday, urges authorities to foster competition and resist pressure from unprofitable state-owned carriers for bailouts.

That line is vigorously contested by several continental carriers, led by Air France, Sabena and Alitalia. They want to turn back the clock on deregulation and draw on government funds while they restructure.

The report should strengthen the commission's ability to refuse those requests, said one commission official who spoke on condition of anonymity. The key test will come next month, when Air France is expected to submit a restructuring plan including huge

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The report should strengthen the commission's ability to refuse those requests, said one commission official who spoke on condition of anonymity. The key test will come next month, when Air France is expected to submit a restructuring plan including huge

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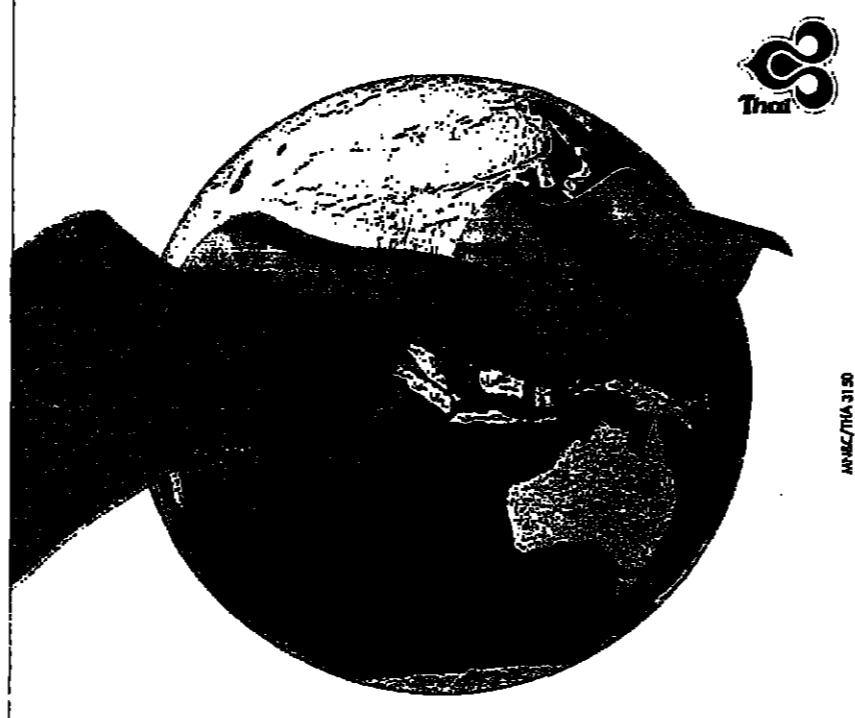
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NYSE

Monday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press



***Fly smooth as silk to over
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Continued on Page 1

Beijing's Curb On Construction Poses Challenge

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — The government's clampdown on new construction projects this year will be difficult to enforce, Chinese and foreign economists said here on Monday.

The State Council, China's cabinet, over the weekend put strict controls on building bank lending, the opening of development zones and the issuance of stocks and bonds outside the government plan, in an attempt to wrest inflation down from the dangerous levels more than 20 percent it reached last year.

The idea is to prevent a repetition

of the credit-fueled economic boom in the first half of 1993. The construction frenzy that turned parts of the south and the coast into a forest of building cranes has been a key factor behind the price rises.

Control of construction projects "is the key subject in the government's control of the economy," said one Chinese economist. He added: "If they are unable to restrain fixed-asset investment, they have little hope of attaining their economic targets this year."

The government has set a 9 percent limit on economic growth this year after 13 percent growth in 1993, and it wants to hold inflation below 10 percent.

"It might be a difficult order to enforce, but there is really no other way as China's monetary system is not developed enough to use Western-style controls such as interest-rate manipulation," the Chinese economist said.

"China's inflation is investment-driven," a Hong Kong-based economic analyst commented.

Some confusion remains as to whether the State Council circular, which stated that "in principle, no new projects will be approved this year," amounted to an outright ban.

"I see it more as an extremely strong exhortation aimed at providing the authority needed to implement the government policy," said a Beijing-based Western economist with an international organization.

"There was just not the bank financing, the credit wasn't there," he said. The CITIC group's plans to build a tunnel under a Shanghai river may also be delayed because the local Chinese partner is finding it difficult to raise the financing.

Last July, China introduced an austerity policy aimed at cooling down its overheating economy, including a severe tightening in bank credit.

China Tuning In on Commercials

Foreign Agencies Expect Profits in Once-Adless Land

Bloomberg Business News

BEIJING — When the actress Gong Li, known internationally for her award-winning role in "Farewell My Concubine," made a cool 1 million yuan (\$115,000) last summer to buy an air conditioner in a local television commercial, nobody was more pleased than the China's foreign advertising community.

After years of disappointing returns, advertising executives from New York and London say recent economic reforms and China's emerging consumer class will finally allow them to recoup their initial investments in China.

During the past two years, such agencies as DDB Needham Worldwide Inc., J. Walter Thompson Co. and Saatchi & Saatchi Co. have set up joint ventures, including tie-ups with agencies based in Hong Kong and Taiwan. China now has about 60 foreign agencies.

"Chinese enterprises are also beginning to realize the value of high-quality advertising," says Gary Burant, president and chief executive officer of Deutscher, Young & Rubicam Partnerships, which set up the China's first advertising joint venture in 1986.

"The lion's share of the bigger accounts will be won by multinational agencies in joint ventures with major Chinese firms," he said.

The numbers certainly look good. Ad agency billings jumped an estimated 65 percent, to 8 billion yuan (\$919 million), this year, following a 93 percent increase last year. China's State Administration for Industry and Commerce reported.

It said it expected that by the turn of the century billings would hit at least 28 billion yuan a year.

"The 28 billion yuan figure is a conservative estimate, because by the end of the decade, enterprises will be operating in a much

quickly in China. Indeed, urban incomes grew by 29 percent during the first nine months of 1993 over the year-earlier period, according to government statistics.

And about 4.5 million Chinese average about 30,000 yuan a year these days. While small, compared with salaries in the West, that money more than covers basic necessities for most Chinese. What is left over can be used for discretionary purchases.

Perhaps mindful that there is more money being plowed into advertising, the Chinese government is now charging a lot more for access to the airwaves.

China Central Television earlier this year more than doubled rates, to 25,000 yuan from 10,000 yuan, for a time slot right after the evening news, which it claims is watched by up to 600 million viewers. Shanghai's Liberation Daily charges more than 1 million yuan for a front-page ad.

While a boom in advertising may be ahead, few foreign agencies are making much money yet. Deutscher's joint venture only moved into the black in 1992.

Yet things have come a long way since 1978, when there were no ads at all in China. As of June, the country had 23,000 ad agencies with 244,000 employees, said Mr. Liu. The state agency's advertising director. But he added that nearly half of these have been in operation less than a year and his organization regarded only 10 percent as "competent."

When an actress got \$115,000 for a commercial, nobody was more pleased than advertising executives from overseas.

fier market environment," said Liu Baofu, director of advertising at the state agency.

Chinese advertising is certainly evolving. Four years ago, most television ads amounted to a picture of the product and its brand name. They typically climaxed with a black screen showing the general manager's address and phone number.

Now, prime-time Chinese television ads often play to the foibles of China's newly rich. In one spot, a middle-aged executive naps in a huge leather chair while his lap-top computer plays a lullaby.

Affluent characters are being portrayed in ads, and with cause. Income levels are rising

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong	Singapore	Tokyo
Hang Seng	Straits Times	Nikkei 225
12,000	250	21,000
11,000	240	20,000
10,000	230	19,000
9,000	220	18,000
8,000	210	17,000
7,000	200	16,000
6,000	190	15,000
5,000	180	14,000
4,000	170	13,000
3,000	160	12,000
2,000	150	11,000
1,000	140	10,000
0	130	9,000

A S O N D Y 1993 1994 A S O N D Y 1993 1994

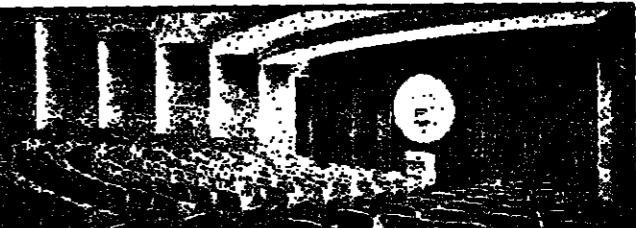
Exchange	Index	Monday	Prev.	%
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	Close	Close	Change
Singapore	Straits Times	-2,339.10	2,300.07	+1.70
Sydney	All Ordinaries	2,310.80	2,259.90	+2.25
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	20,229.12	18,757.85	+7.84
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	1,106.99	1,090.06	+1.55
Bangkok	SET	1,493.45	1,507.35	-0.92
Seoul	Composite Stock	945.71	946.11	-0.04
Taipei	Weighted Price	6,115.12	6,016.08	+1.65
Manila	Composite	2,874.56	2,829.50	-1.86
Jakarta	Stock Index	592.02	592.65	-0.11
New Zealand	NZSE-40	2,397.82	2,338.28	+4.65
Bombay	National Index	1,921.49	1,944.13	-1.16

Sources: Reuters, AFP International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

- Malaysia's consumer price index rose 3.6 percent in 1993 after 4.7 percent in 1992, the government reported; economists predict inflation will accelerate to 4.2 percent this year and 4.5 percent in 1995.
- Australia agreed to phase out the use of European geographical names, such as chianti, champagne and burgundy, for its wines, in return for greater access to European Union markets.
- Aztec Systems Ltd., which makes an attachment that enables personal computers to reproduce sound through speakers, launched an initial public offering to raise \$2.5 million Singapore dollars (\$39.1 million).
- Taiwan's Finance Ministry is weighing plans for Taipei's first bond sale on international markets since 1949, to raise up to \$300 million.

AP, Reuters, Bloomberg



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Herald Tribune

INDIA: Upgrade Sought

Continued from Page 7

"We are in a league of our own in foreign debt." The country, he said, needs to press ahead with fiscal reforms to cut the budget deficit.

India has been brought back from the brink of ruin by an International Monetary Fund-induced program that, masterminded by Mr. Singh and steered past entrenched opposition, is changing the socialist-style economic system that evolved over 40 years.

Politics that lowered tariffs and taxes and promised changes in India's financial system and privatization of parts of its inefficient public sector have started to bear fruit.

Indian industry, freed from layers of interfering bureaucracy, has moved to put itself on a more competitive footing. Exports have risen, interest rates and inflation have fallen, and economic growth is hitting 5 percent.

"I'm quite sure the credit rating agencies will eventually follow the market," said Mr. Rajanagari, referring to mushrooming demand for Indian securities issued in international capital markets.

Several large government and corporate issuers may follow the Industrial Development Bank of India, which announced last month its intention to raise \$250 million with a five-year Eurobond.



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SPORTS

Gillooly Guilty Plea Expected Today

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PORTLAND, Oregon — U.S. figure skating champion Tonya Harding's name was submitted Monday as a member of the U.S. Olympic team, but whether she would compete in the Games in Norway appeared to have been put in doubt.

Harding's former husband, Jeff Gillooly, has a court hearing scheduled for Tuesday morning at which he is expected to plead guilty to a charge of plotting the Jan. 6 attack on Harding's skating rival, Nancy Kerrigan. His lawyer, Ron Hoevet, said Gillooly will make a statement and answer questions following his court appearance.

Gillooly, bodyguard Shawn Eckardt, the alleged assailant Shane Stant and the alleged getaway car driver Derrick Smith have all been charged with conspiracy to assault Kerrigan, who was hit above her right knee with a police baton at a practice rink in Detroit just before the national championships there. Harding has not been charged.

Ski Federation President Says Speed Of Women's Races Must Be Checked

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

VIENNA — The president of the International Ski Federation called Monday for speed restrictions on the women's World Cup races following the death of Austrian star Ulrike Maier.

"It has become imperative to check the speed of the women," said Max Hodler, Austria's minister of tourism. "We must take what measures would be taken or considered."

The federation has been put on the defensive by the threat of legal action by Maier's fiancé after her death during Saturday's downhill in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.

The two-time giant-slab world champion fell while skiing at more than 100 kph (60 mph) and hurtled into a timing post, breaking her neck and inflicting severe internal injuries.

She will be buried Thursday in

Stant and Smith are scheduled to appear in Multnomah County Circuit Court one hour earlier than Gillooly for a hearing on their legal representation.

Harding didn't object to the plot to eliminated Kerrigan from the championships, though she didn't think Eckardt could carry it off. The Oregonian newspaper reported Monday.

Gillooly, in a confession to authorities, said that he came up with the plot because he felt the judges had unfairly ranked Harding fourth at a December skating competition in Japan and wouldn't give her a fair shake at the national championships, the newspaper reported.

Deputy District Attorney Norm Frink declined to comment Monday on The Oregonian report and said, "We're still interviewing witnesses and gathering evidence," adding that the investigation "could be days, it could be weeks."

Harding has not been charged.

She returned to the ice after a weekend off, as a large crowd pressed around the rink and the railing above it at the shopping center where she skates.

The U.S. Figure Skating Association went through the formality of telephoning the U.S. Olympic Committee to say that Harding was still on the roster for the Olympics, along with 11 other skaters and 10 alternates.

The USOC was to deliver the paperwork Monday to the International Olympic Organizing Committee in Lillehammer, Norway.

The association made the call with the understanding that alternates can be named until Feb. 21, two days before the Olympic skating competition begins.

The alternate is Michelle Kwan, 13, who finished second to Harding at the national championships.

Quoting sources said to be familiar with Gillooly's confession to the FBI, The Oregonian gave this account:

Gillooly hatched the plot and began discussing it with Eckardt before Harding returned from skating in Japan. Harding, following her fourth-place finish, had complained that after skating a clean technical program she received lower scores than skaters who had fallen.

The first she heard of the plan to attack Kerrigan was when she returned the week of Dec. 12.

She and Gillooly both felt the U.S. Figure Skating Association was prejudiced in Kerrigan's favor, in part because Kerrigan was featured on brochures and the cover of the magazine promoting the national championships.

When Harding said she doubted Eckardt could successfully knock Kerrigan out of the competition, Gillooly told her someone else would do the actual assault. The plan then seemed forgotten.

But Eckardt, acting on his own, contacted his friend, Smith, who had recently moved to Arizona. Smith agreed to carry out the attack with the help of his nephew, Stant.

Smith and Stant drove from Arizona to Portland. On Dec. 28, Eckardt met with Gillooly and Harding and they agreed to go ahead with the plan.

Harding called the skating rink outside Boston where Kerrigan practiced to get her schedule. But Stant could not carry out the attack in Massachusetts, and went to Detroit to try again.

(AP, Reuters)

code of conduct. It has set a deadline of Feb. 10 to make its recommendation, but could act sooner, said the committee chairman, William Hybl.

Gillooly appeared before a grand jury Saturday and reportedly has agreed to plead guilty to racketeering and testify against Harding. The charge carries a two-year prison term.

Gillooly agreed to testify against Harding only after learning that she had dropped their cover story while being interrogated by the FBI, according to his brother, John Gillooly.

"Jeff would have fallen on his sword for Tonya if Tonya had told him the truth. But she didn't," Hoevet told The Oregonian. Hoevet didn't return telephone calls Sunday and Monday.

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(AP, Reuters)



UCLA Loses to Cal, Loses No. 1 Ranking

The Associated Press

UCLA knew all about the explosiveness of California's Jason Kidd and Lance Murray. The Bruins didn't know about Monty Buckley, so they became the latest team to have its reign as No. 1 cut short.

Buckley's career-high 23 points led No. 19 Cal (12-4 overall; 5-2 Pac-10) to an 85-70 upset of the then-No. 1 Bruins on Sunday in Oakland, marking UCLA's (14-7, 7-0) last Division I team to lose its

mountain. We just couldn't get over it."

No. 2 North Carolina 85, Wake Forest 61: Eric Montross scored 22 points on 10-for-13 shooting for host North Carolina (17-3, 5-2 ACC), which pounded the frontcourt of Wake Forest (12-7, 3-4) and scored virtually all its points from inside 10 feet.

No. 7 Kentucky 91, Auburn 74:

Tony Delk scored 25 points and keyed a second-half surge as Ken-

ucky really stepped up for them.

"We kind of wanted the other guys to have to step up and beat us, and they did."

While the Bruins were busy trying to contain Kidd, the linchpin of Cal's offense, and Murray, the Bruins' leading scorer, who finished with 21 points, Buckley made eight of 12 shots. Coming in, as an 18 percent shooter from 3-point range, the 6-foot, 6-inch (195-centimeter) junior guard was open on the perimeter and went 3-for-7 from long range.

"I looked at my percentage, and I would have left myself open, too," he said.

After the Bears ended the first half with a 45-35 lead, Buckley scored 11 of Cal's first 13 points of the second half with 15:08 to play. Kidd finished what Buckley started, scoring nine of Cal's last 11 points and posting 18 points, a career-high 14 rebounds and 12 assists.

UCLA, which dropped to fourth in the new poll, never got itself to score more than 70 points for the second time in two games. The Bruins ascended to the No. 1 spot last week only to get knocked off like Garmisch, Kentucky, Arkansas and Kansas.

"It's hard to swallow," said forward Ed O'Bannon, whose 24 points led the Bruins. "We were close to winning."

Said UCLA's coach, Jim Harrick, "We came back. We got to the

Tonya Harding gave a wave as she set off for practice in Portland.

(AP Photo/Ron Harpin)

Harding got Kerrigan's room ardi met with Gillooly and Harding and they agreed to go ahead with the plan.

Harding called the skating rink outside Boston where Kerrigan practiced to get her schedule. But Stant could not carry out the attack in Massachusetts, and went to Detroit to try again.

(AP, Reuters)

SIDELINES

Field Is Expanded for British Open

ST. ANDREWS, Scotland (AP) — The hottest golfers on the three major PGA tours in the weeks preceding the British Open will gain automatic entry to the tournament under new qualifying rules, officials said Tuesday.

The Royal and Ancient Golf Club said it has created 15 new qualifying exemptions, divided equally among the European, Japanese and U.S. tours, for the July 14-17 tournament at Turnberry, Scotland.

• Bill Glasson shot 7-under par 64 and came from two strokes behind to win the Phoenix Open by three strokes over Bob Estes.

Evans Promoted to Manage Liverpool

LIVERPOOL, England (AP) — Roy Evans was promoted Monday from assistant manager to replace Graeme Souness as manager of the English Premier Division soccer club Liverpool. He signed a 2½ contract, covering the period Souness had left before resigning Friday.

Evans, 45, has been at Anfield since signing as a 17-year-old apprentice in 1965. He played in only nine games in four seasons before being advised by Bill Shankly, then the manager, to concentrate on coaching.

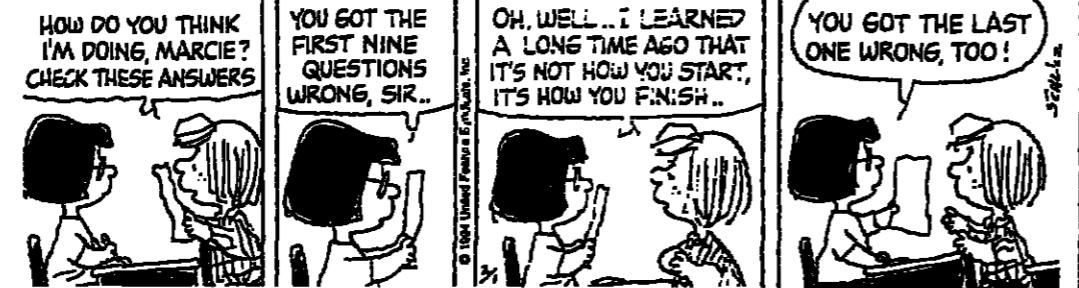
• Salvatore Mossaella, 22, an army conscript from Sicily, jumped from a train window and plunged to his death Sunday after being assaulted by a group of fans from the Sicilian team Messina, Italian television reported Monday.

For the Record

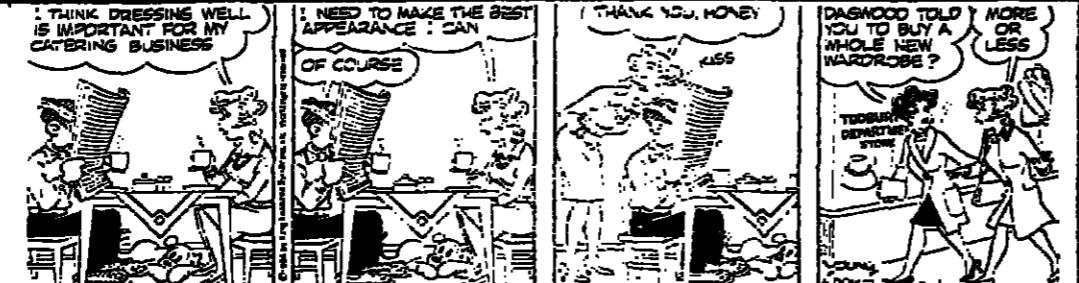
Dan Jansen of the United States set a world record in the 500-meter event at the World Sprint Speedskating Championships, clocking 35.76 seconds to break his old mark of 35.92 seconds, set Dec. 4 in Hamar, Norway.

DENNIS THE MENACE

PEANUTS



BLONDIE



BEETLE BAILEY



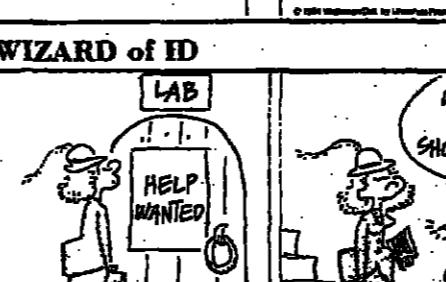
DOONESBURY



CALVIN AND HOBBES



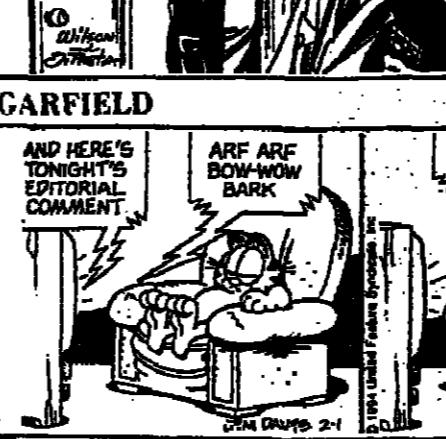
WIZARD of ID



REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



Phoenix Open

The top 10 golfers Sunday in the World Series of Golf Championship in California finished in a tie for third.

• First: Tom Lehman, 63, (Phoenix); Second: Fred Couples, 39 (Phoenix); Third: Tom Kite, 42 (Phoenix).

• First: Mark McCumber, 36 (Phoenix); Second: Tom Kite, 42 (Phoenix); Third: Tom Kite, 42 (Phoenix).

• First: Tom Lehman, 63 (Phoenix); Second: Fred Couples, 39 (Phoenix); Third: Tom Kite, 42 (Phoenix).

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• First: Tom Lehman, 63 (Phoenix); Second: Fred Couples, 39 (Phoenix); Third:

SPORTS

It's Fourth Down and Despair for Bills as Cowboys Romp Again

'I'll Probably Get Over It,' Thomas Says

By Timothy W. Smith
New York Times Service

ATLANTA — Two Super Bowls ago, someone hid Thurman Thomas's helmet under a bench before the start of the game and he missed the first two plays while trying to find it.

By the end of this year's Super Bowl, Thomas would have gladly traded places with that mislaid helmet. There wasn't a hole big enough on the sideline for him to crawl into.

The gifted running back had two fumbles that resulted in 10 points for the Cowboys. And the second one, returned 46 yards by safety James Washington, shifted the momentum of the game in the third quarter and paved the way for Dallas's victory.

Thomas spent the final 10 minutes of the game with his head in his hands. Teammates said he was inconsolable. For Thomas it was another Super Bowl nightmare — his third in a row. His numbers have been miserable in the last three. He had 10 carries for 13 yards against the Washington Redskins in 1992, 11 carries for 19 yards against the Cowboys last year and he finished with 16 carries for 37 yards Sunday night.

Take away his 135 yards rushing against the New York Giants in the 1990 Super Bowl, and Thomas has been a nonfactor in each of the Bills' Super Bowl losses. But in this loss he was more than that — he was a down-right liability.

And no one felt worse about that than Thomas. He seemed stunned, dazed and on the verge of tears on the sideline at the end of the game, although he appeared none the worse for wear as he stood on a podium before a crowd of reporters 30 minutes afterward, dressed in a yellow blazer, black shirt and black sunglasses.

"There was no doubt that they were the key to the game," he said of his turnovers.

"I've been frustrated in my career, but I've never been a fumbler. I can't run with two hands on the ball. That's not my style. I'm not a fullback."

But, he added, "I'll probably get over it on the plane ride to the Pro Bowl. A loss is a loss. We can't go back and play the Giants, the Redskins and the Cowboys. I can't re-play the game and go get back those two fumbles. The only thing I can do is go forward."



Thurman Thomas, hit by Leon Lett of the Cowboys, fumbled 55 seconds into the second half and the Super Bowl turned nasty for the Bills.

"I'm not going to go out and drink myself to death or do something stupid."

Still, it was a devastating feeling for Thomas. Immediately after the game he was met on the field by the Dallas running back Emmitt Smith, who was named the game's most valuable player for his 30 carries, 132 yards and 2 touchdowns.

Thomas was asked about their conversation:

"He was telling me that he wasn't going to the Pro Bowl because he was going to have shoulder surgery," Thomas said. "He had his little niece with him and he told her that I was the greatest running back ever. I told him, 'Don't even run that!'"

When he was holding his head in his hands, Thomas said he had several thoughts running through his mind:

"I was thinking that we were 0-4 in Super Bowls and that I wished I could have played better," he said.

"I was wondering how we as a football team will deal with this when we get back together. There are going to be a lot of jokes about the Buffalo Bills. There are going to be a lot of guys that leave, because of free agency. But we as a team or wouldn't — bear them."

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say to him I don't think he was hearing," said Kenneth Davis, who replaced Thomas in the finale.

Thomas said he couldn't remember what the Bills' coach, Marv Levy, said to the team afterward.

It wasn't until he was in the shower that he snapped out of his haze. He said center Kent Hull told him how the second fumble happened:

"Kent said Leon Lett knocked the ball loose," Thomas said. "Kent said he got a good block on him, but he got one hand free and knocked the ball out."

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Bobbitts Anonymous

WASHINGTON — The Bobbitts Anonymous organization was started by Arthur E. to help reporters who were so addicted to Bobbitt stories that they couldn't write anything else.

We met in the basement of the Second Unitarian Church in Bethesda, Maryland. There were 30 of us — men and women all addicted to the same story and hoping to find a way to quit the Bobbitt habit.

Buddy B. was the first to tell his tale. "When I first read about the Bobbitts I couldn't believe my eyes. I never thought that a family newspaper could touch their story. But when I arrived at the office I found the entire staff studying Roger's Thesaurus trying to find new words to describe Mr. Bobbitt's loss."

"In the beginning I sold a joke about it, but pretty soon I became addicted, and no matter what I tried to tap into the computer, the word 'Bobbitt' kept popping up. I was much more interested in the why than in the how. Now I can't think of anything else except 'Why not?'

Ellen G. stood up and said: "As you know, I cover the United Nations, which is very exciting, but their sessions didn't compare with what happened between the Bobbitts. I kept writing things like 'Cambodia knifed the United States in the back today,' and 'Barry Yeltsin received another unkink cut from President Clinton who sharply criticized his economic pro-



Buchwald

Glyndebourne to Open New House on Schedule*The Associated Press*

GLYNDEBOURNE, England — The first opera house to be built in Britain for 60 years will open at Glyndebourne this spring on schedule and on budget, the chairman, Sir George Christie, said Monday.

The new theater, a privately funded venture costing £3.3 million (\$49.5 million), replaces the original built in 1934 by Christie's parents beside their Tudor country house.

Finally, it was my turn to speak. I was nervous as I faced the group. "I was wrong because I believed that there were laughs in the Bobbitt story. I milked it as much as I could, only to discover that there is nothing new to say. I wish that the couple go back to the lives they deserve and leave the press alone. I declare tonight that I will never mention the Bobbitts in my column again."

Obviously I have lied because I've written this.

But when it comes to Bobbitt stories, you can't kick the habit after one lousy meeting.

WEATHER

Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



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